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DR. DUTTON'S REFLECTIONS ON RE-READING VERGIL

(Concluded from page 58)

Next Dr. Dutton calls attention (20) to Vergil's quick sympathy for other than human creatures. Witness his picture of the wounded pet stag (Aeneid 7.500-503). "Again and again he compares human beings in desperate plight to animals in hopeless distress. . . ." Twice Vergil compares the falling of a youth in death to the dying of a flower. In Aeneid 9.435-437 we have:

purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur.

Here, very probably, as Dr. Dutton says, Vergil was thinking of Catullus 11.22 and of Iliad 8.306-308. The other passage is Aeneid 11.67-71:

Hic iuvenem agresti sublimen stramine ponunt,
qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.

This comparison seems to be Vergil's own.

The great tenderness shown in these comparisons of the two youths whom, next to Iulus, Aeneas must most have loved in this Latin war, nearest akin to the nature of Aeneas,—and to Vergil's own,—illustrates the poet's interest in young men.

This interest in young men is shown again in Vergil's description of the game of Troy (Aeneid 5.545-603): . . . the spirited detail of Vergil's account shows that he must himself have taken delight . . . in watching the eager, excited young lads in their equestrian maneuvers. Nor could he have been so successful in his memorial verses to the young Marcellus had he not felt keenly the tragedy of the blighted promise of youth, and of *that* youth whom Rome loved, and upon whom the hopes of his mother and of Augustus his uncle were centered.

Other passages pertinent here are Aeneid 4.140 ff., 5.672, 7.497, 9.310-313, 9.672 ff.

Dr. Dutton then discusses (21-22) other passages in which Vergil portrays delicately and effectively other relationships both within and without the family (Aeneid 2.510 ff., 723, 3.489-491, 6.694, 5.766, 8.155, 10.392, 11.443-444).

Dr. Dutton (24-25) calls attention to three passages in which Vergil gives us glimpses of quiet domestic life: Georgics 1.291-296, 2.523-531, Aeneid 8.407-413. Here, in the Eclogues, and in the Georgics everywhere else we breathe the atmosphere of Vergil's

country home. See especially Aeneid 2.626 ff., 4.441, 6.311, 6.453, 10.97-99, 415-419, 12.521 f. For his references to animals and to birds compare 11.456, 2.355, 9.59, 11.809, 9.339, 9.793, 12.749, 10.707, 12.4, 10.454, 4.68, 9.551, 563, 12.103, 12.715, 2.379, 471, 5.88, 273, 11.751; and 1.397, 2.515, 4.254, 7.699 ff., 9.563, 10.264, 11.456, 721, 751, 12.473. Note especially this passage (26):

Vergil's fondness for birds is shown in two brief passages which only a bird lover would have conceived: As Aeneas sails up the Tiber (Aen. 7.32-34), "around and above are varied birds which haunt the banks and the bed of the river lulling the air with their song and flitting about in the groves", and Evander (Aen. 8.455, 456) is aroused from sleep in his humble dwelling by "the fair light and the morning songs of birds beneath his roof".

Vergil's interest in rivers, especially his home river, the Mincius, is next considered. Dr. Dutton reminds us that Vergil must often have seen the Mincius in flood, working damage to the surrounding land. As she notes, this thought gives special point to his allusions to rivers in flood: see Aeneid 2.304, 496, 10.603, 11.297, 12.503, Georgics 1.332-334. In Eclogues 1.48, 7.12, 9.28-29, and Georgics 2.199 Vergil speaks of the Mincius in quieter mood. The ship that bears the five hundred Etruscans whom Ocnus leads from Mantua against Mezentius is called Mincius; the figure-head of the ship represents the river. We may recall here Vergil's allusions to the *amoenus fluvius*, the Tiber: Aeneid 7.29-36, 151, 8.31, 62-65, 72, 73-78, 86-89, 95, 96, 330-332, 10.421-423, etc. Compare now Professor Warner's paper, Epithets of the Tiber in Roman Poets, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.52-54.

Next comes a very interesting discussion (27-29) of the influence on Vergil of the renewed interest in art, of which he saw examples everywhere in Rome. Passages in point here are his description of the temple of Juno in Carthage, and of Daedalus's temple to Apollo at Cumae. So too is the passage describing the shield of Turnus (Aeneid 7.789-792), and, above all, that describing the shield of Aeneas (8.627-731). Mr. A. S. Murray (History of Greek Sculpture, Chapter 3)

thinks that Vergil had throughout obtained very definite suggestions from actual works of art for the designs upon the shield, instancing particularly the description of the wolf (630-634), of Augustus at

Actium (680, 681), and of the Nile (711-713). We observe, too, the devices on the beak of Aeneas' ship (10.166 ff.), and the belt of Pallas (10.496-499), upon which the fatal wedding night of the Danaids is pictured in gold. I have never seen it noted. . . but I believe that this also was suggested to Aeneas by the recently built temple of Apollo on the Palatine of which the statues of Danaus and his fifty daughters formed one of the chief decorations.

Other passages that may be noted in this connection are 10.134-138, 6.847-848, 7.572-573; these involve separate references to objects of art.

It is clear, then, that, in the brief compass of thirty pages, Dr. Dutton has put together, evidently in the main from personal reading of the great poet, a deal of material of interest to the lover of Vergil.

We may close this imperfect abstract of her paper by calling attention, as she does (29), to two recent discussions of Vergil, perhaps not as well known as they ought to be. The first is Lecture XVIII, pages 403-429, of the book by W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (Macmillan, 1911); the chapter deals with Religious Feeling in Vergil. The other is the paper entitled Vergil, by H. W. Garrod, which occupies pages 146-166 of the volume entitled *English Literature and the Classics* (Oxford, 1912). For a review of the latter book, by Professor Van Hook, see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.125-127; for a review of the former book, by Professor C. H. Moore, see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 5.221-223. To these I may add T. F. Royds, *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1914); W. Warde Fowler, "Virgil's Gathering of the Clans", *Being Observations on Aeneid VII. 601-817* (Blackwell, Oxford; Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1916); R. S. Conway, *The Youth of Vergil* (Longmans, New York, 1917); and *The Boy Ascanius*, by H. O. Ryder, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 10.210-214.

C. K.

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF ROMAN HISTORY¹

To those of us who studied the history of our own country in College some fifteen or twenty years ago, the American histories of the last few years seem to speak a new language. Campaigns and heroic exploits, dominant personalities and state papers are yielding space to accounts of Salem importers, records of trade-rivalry, pressure of brewers and farmers upon legislatures and conventions, in fact to a study of the material interests of shippers and producers, who are assumed to be the powers that controlled our long-worshipped statesmen and generals. This tendency, which now permeates all modern history, quickly reacted of course upon the study of ancient history, and the Economic Interpretation has produced not only the excellent special studies

of Francotte, Eduard Meyer and their followers, but has, as we all know, furnished the point of view in the works of Ferrero, Cornford, and a host of others.

The contention of this school is based upon general psychological grounds which are on the whole sound. In brief, they assume that the strongest and most enduring instinct, the will to live, has always driven the human being to get for his own use, by foul means if not by fair, the necessities of life, that, since he acquired the faculty of calculating for the future, he has not only appropriated for immediate needs but has also hoarded against possible exigencies, that the struggle for existence has always been so exacting that he occupies most of his waking hours in satisfying the acquisitive instinct, and that, accordingly, when he acquires social or political power, he is most likely to employ that power for economic ends. It seems to follow that political and social changes are chiefly manifestations and effects of the manoeuvres of this instinct; that consequently a historian should always delve below the political phenomena to the question *cui bono* (*economico*), and should study first of all the economic needs and aspirations of the social groups, assuming that these are the primary causes of social and political movements. I believe that the main contention has a solid basis in fact, and that, though there is always a chance for a slip at any link in the chain of the argument, there have been epochs in some national histories when every link has proved sound. We must admit in any case that the economic factor is at all times likely to be not merely one out of a dozen plausible agents of importance in history, but rather one of the very few dominant forces. There are periods in both Greek and Roman history when purely economic causes mastered the then ruling party and employed the government to their own ends. However, the student of Roman history—and I shall here confine myself to that—finds after a careful attempt to apply this general view of human nature that it somehow fails to work in a surprisingly large number of crises. It is obviously impossible to review the evidence here; to save space I beg permission to refer to an attempt at explaining the causes of Rome's international conflicts which I made some time ago². There, rightly or wrongly, I found myself forced to the conclusion that the economic factor stood out predominantly at only a few points. This conclusion, unexpected as it was, has suggested the need of examining further into Roman conditions for a fuller explanation of the fact.

Let us begin with industrial conditions, where economic pressure upon politics is to-day very patent. The laboring man now exerts a strong influence in governmental affairs. In America, for instance, his class is well organized and commands a powerful vote. No man who has strongly antagonized the group is

¹This paper was read at the Tenth Annual meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at the Central High School, Philadelphia, April 15, 1916.

²*Roman Imperialism* (1914).